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New York

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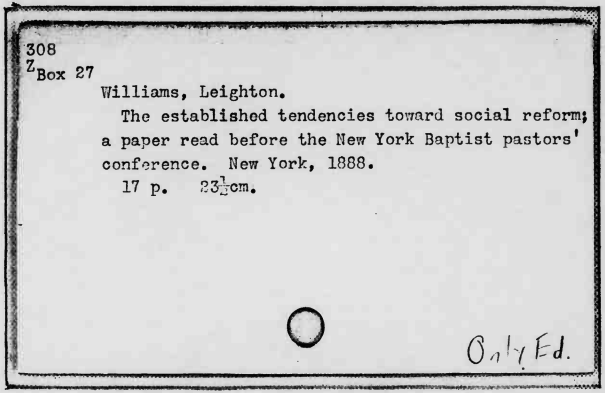

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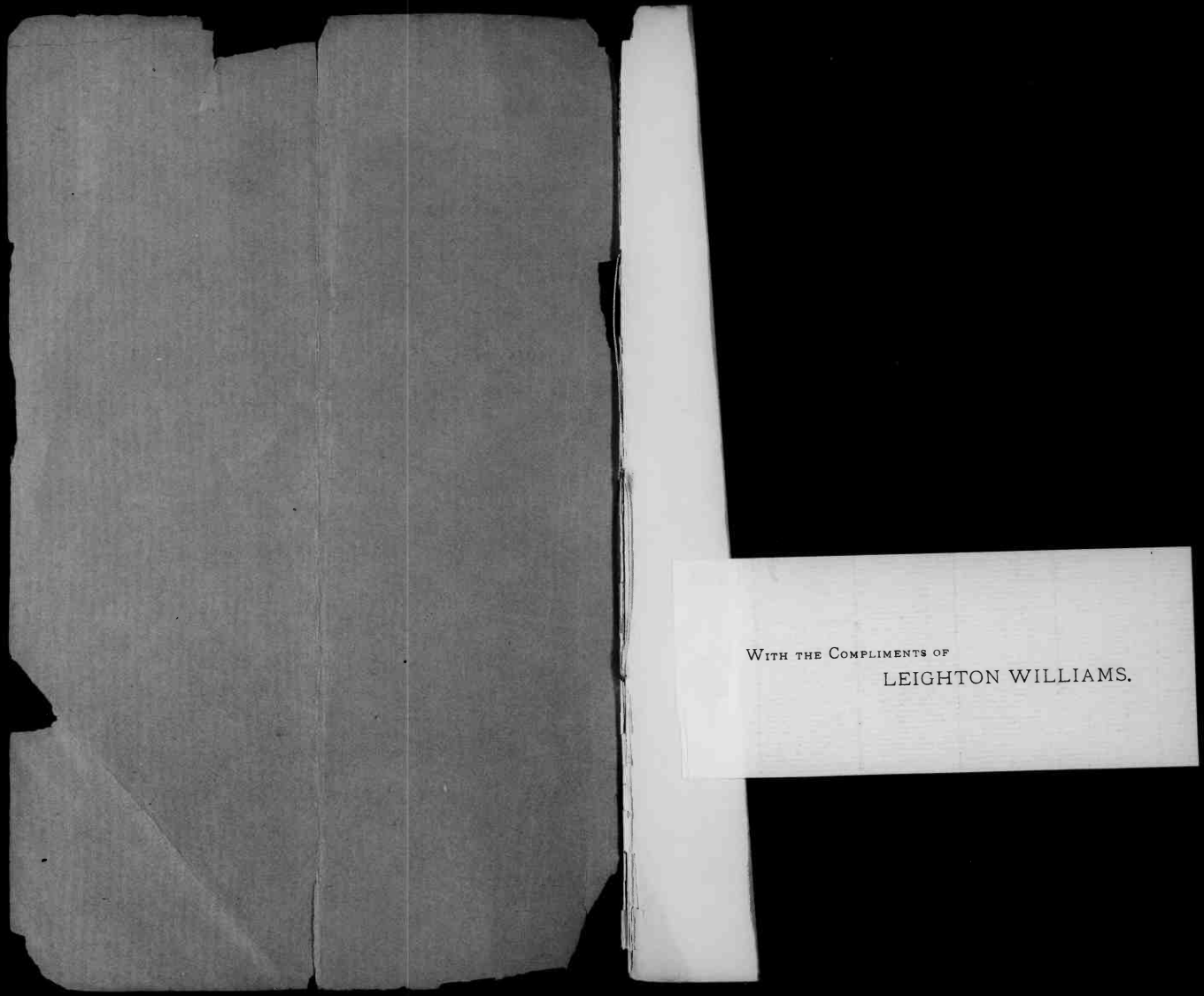
The Established Tendencies toward Social Reform.

A Paper read before the New York Baptist Pastors' Conference

BY

LEIGHTON WILLIAMS,

Pastor Amity Baptist Church.


With the Compliments of
LEIGHTON WILLIAMS.

The Established Tendencies toward Social Reform.

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NEW YORK:
S. B. Leverich, Printer, 51 John Street.
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Mr. Moderator and Brethren of the Conference:

It is with no slight hesitation that I have undertaken the task before me this morning. Interesting and important as I believe the the topic to be, widely as I have read on it, and deeply as I feel in regard to it, its vastness appalls me, and causes me to shrink from any public declaration upon it. It is therefore a matter of personal congratulation to myself that the form in which the question is presented to me is one which precludes the necessity of any expression of my individual opinions, which I am free to confess are as yet far from definite. It is not as a critic nor as a partisan, but simply as a student, that I offer you, brethren, some gleanings from the broad field of investigation which any social question, and this above others, opens before us.

Our time being limited and the question so vast, it is needful that my statements should be concise and definite. It may be proper, therefore, to premise some remarks on the nature of the question.

The title of this paper shows the topic not to have passed from the realm of the theoretical to that of the practical and experimental. It is not with politics and legislation that we have to deal, but simply with ***opinion***. It is, moreover, a question of fact and ***observation***; hence, scientific rather than philosophical, inductive rather than deductive. Stated in another form, the question might read, "What is the ascertained drift of opinion toward social reform?"

Again, this statement of it shows the question to be comparative in its character, as the direction, force and velocity of a current are only to be ascertained from different points of observation, or at intervals of time.

Viewed in this threefold aspect, as theoretical, scientific and comparative, our theme naturally divides itself into the Rise, the Progress, and the Present Status of the question of Social Reform.

One further preliminary remark is needful as to the material for this investigation. It is very various in character and prodigious in amount. A life-time would not suffice to master it in all its extent. It will therefore be necessary to confine our observations to the acknowledged leaders in the chief social movements of the age, endeavoring at the same time to estimate to what extent they

have affected public opinion and carried with them the sympathy of the unknown masses, who constitute, nevertheless, the determinating factor of all social movements. They labor, they suffer for the most part mutely and passively. They feel rather than think. Slow to think, slower still to act, their power is seldom felt; but it is *real*, and once aroused it is *irresistible*. But it needs guidance, leadership and unanimity, which a superior intelligence alone can furnish. Hence it has ever been the rule rather than the exception that the great advocates of the people have not belonged, at least by position and education, to the masses whom they swayed.

We are right therefore in shaping our investigation by the study of the opinions of those individuals who have constituted themselves the tribunes of the people; and we must estimate their relative importance by the power which they have thus wielded over the masses, and the extent to which they have become exponents of popular thought and feeling.

We will consider then in the first place, if you please, the *Rise* of this question of Social Reform.

I.

It is worthy of remark that social, as distinguished from political questions, have only recently come into prominence. In all ages, it is true, there have been popular uprisings, and in the light of a clearer understanding of the history of the past, it is possible to discern the social character of those early movements better even than did the actors themselves. Thus we attach a significance to the agrarian legislation of the Gracchi which even so acute an observer as Cicero failed to discern. As feeling in the individual antedates often intellectual perception, so does it also in the mass of mankind and the history of the race.

Men have felt oppression and resisted it long before they could analyze it or formulate clearly the rights it infringed or denied, and for which they struggled. But as an intelligent demand must precede the concession of popular liberty, so has it ever been that those questions which go to the very root of human society remain the last to be definitely formulated and generally conceded. So also has it come to pass that the more apparent and superficial grievances have been the first to receive attention, and that on their settlement only have been disclosed questions deeper and more fundamental which underlay them. Chattel slavery had to be attacked and

overthrown before even the term industrial slavery became current, or the possibility of such a bondage appreciated.

Political freedom had to be achieved and political equality decreed before men became keenly alive to *social inequality*. Necessary was it that the establishment of this free Republic and the French Revolution should be accomplished before social questions assumed prominence.

De Tocqueville, the acute French critic of our institutions early in this century, foresaw that the establishment of complete political liberty must inevitably lead to the demand for social liberty and equality, and recorded a prediction which is receiving already abundant verification. It is to this effect: "If the great questions of the beginning of this century were mainly political, those which will convulse the world at its close will be social." Those words come to us with the authority of one of the greatest names in the roll of political science. They are quoted and endorsed in our own day by men scarcely less eminent. They bid us to study with earnestness the problems now presenting themselves for solution, in a spirit of fairness and candor, that thus weighing and conceding popular demands far as they are just, our ship of state may safely and prosperously ride the storms that threaten her. We have before us the example of England and the warning of France as to the possibility of averting by a so-called peaceful revolution, such as that wrought by the English Reform bills, the awful cataclysm which engulfed the unyielding, unheeding dynasty of France.

Now the question will be asked, what are these social demands? To this question no very definite answer can be given for the reason hinted at already. They have their origin in feeling rather than reason. The acquisition of civil liberty and political equality, while a great advance on previous conditions, did not realize the brilliant expectations which were fondly entertained. Misery and want had not disappeared from the earth. The golden age had not yet dawned. The solid advances which had been gained only served to stimulate keener desires, and disappointed hope producing wide-spread dissatisfaction, afforded the mental stimulus necessary to set in motion the reasoning faculties toward the solution of these profound fundamental problems which involve the constitution of human society. But a sense of dissatisfaction with existing conditions is not of itself sufficient to account for the movement toward social reform. Dissatisfaction may become despair if it be without hope of relief, and quiesce into stagnation, as in China. That which creates hope is

education. The intellect, aroused and awakened, discovers the hope of release. To three great educational influences, therefore, according to the eminent Belgian publicist, Emile de Laveleye, in his brilliant work on Contemporary Socialism, must we attribute the recent stimulus given to these demands, viz: the hopes of social regeneration fostered by Christianity; the great revolution in the industrial constitution of society which has occurred within the century; and lastly the study of political economy. Each of these demands a brief consideration.

(1) The conception of a kingdom of God on earth, while early abandoned in its materialistic aspect, has in all ages of the church served to nourish and keep alive aspirations after a state of society where peace and equality should reign, want and misery be unknown, and justice should prevail—aspirations not indeed created by Christianity, for we find a most charming expression of them in the *Republic* of the pagan philosopher, but undoubtedly fostered by its teachings. Laveleye declares; "It was from Judea that there arose the most persistent protests against inequality and the most ardent aspirations after justice that have ever raised humanity out of the actual into the ideal. We feel the effect still. *It is thence has come that leaven of revolution which still moves the world.*" (*Socialism of To-day, p. 16.*) This last sentence is especially noteworthy, as proving that Laveleye attributes the progressive character which distinguishes European civilization from the stagnant civilizations of the East to the teachings of Christianity. Revolutions, deplorable as they are, are yet necessary in the providence of God, and they mark the steps by which He brings nearer the kingdom of His Son. He declares by the mouth of his prophet Ezekiel, "I will overturn, overturn, overturn it; and it shall be no more, until he come whose right it is: and I will give it him." (Ezek. 21: 27.)

Laveleye traces similar utterances in the writings of the early Christian Fathers, and through the Middle Ages, enumerating among those inclining to such views the Anabaptists of Germany, and mentioning among the works originating thus the *Utopia* of the English Sir Thomas More and many others.

How deeply Laveleye himself has become tinged with these views is evident from the following paragraph. "It is impossible to read attentively the prophecies of the Old Testament and the Gospels, and at the same time cast a glance at existing economic conditions, without condemning the latter in the name of the

Christian ideal. Every Christian who understands and earnestly accepts the teaching of his Master, is at heart a Socialist; and every Socialist, whatever may be his hatred against all religion, bears within him an unconscious Christianity. Followers of Darwin and those economists who maintain that human societies are governed by natural laws to which a free course is to be given, are the real and only logical adversaries at once of Christianity and Socialism." (id. p. 19.) Were it not that M. Laveleye has a position so unassailable as a thinker and writer on political and social questions, I should hardly venture to quote his opinions, so radical in their ground, yet so positive in tone, lest they might seem the vaporings of a fanatic. I transcribe these words as an evidence of the spread of socialistic opinion no less than for the bearing they have on the connection of Christianity and Socialism. M. Laveleye proceeds to show how religious Socialism has become political Socialism since the Declaration of Independence and the French Revolution. He asserts: "Equality of political rights leads inevitably to the demand for equality of conditions, that is to say, the apportionment of well-being according to work accomplished. *Universal suffrage* demands as its complement *universal well-being*; for it is a paradox that the people should be at once wretched and sovereign." (p. 20.) But at this point an objection will naturally occur to many of you. If there be this natural, and, as M. Laveleye would regard it, necessary connection between Christianity and Socialism, how is it that the great body of Christians have hitherto remained indifferent, if not hostile, to those views; and how is it also that the leaders of the socialist movement have so frequently been opponents of Christianity not only, but of all religion—natural no less than revealed. To these objections M. Laveleye replies only inferentially. His answer may be assumed to be this. The dominant school of scriptural interpretation for many centuries has regarded the passages of the Bible which M. Laveleye claims as socialistic as referring almost exclusively to another state of existence, inculcating acquiescence in present conditions here, however onerous, in the hope of an eternal reward. Thus Christianity has been arrayed on the conservative side in this controversy, while yet pervaded by so ardent a yearning for the establishment of that Kingdom of Righteousness which he declares is to come.

On the other hand, those thinkers who have thrown themselves without reserve into the cause of human freedom, have looked with strong disfavor, amounting to open hostility in many cases, on a

Church which appeared to them the ally of injustice, and certainly did and does, and ever must preach ***submission*** to injustice rather than ***violence*** which the more radical socialists advocate.

To summarize our remarks on the relation of Christianity to Socialism, we may assert that whether rightly or wrongly, those aspirations after social equality which have given birth to the social movement of our times have drawn their inspiration largely from Scripture. Notable examples of this connection are to be found in the school of Christian Socialists under the leadership of Maurice, Kingsley and Ludlow in earlier days, and now represented by the Guild of St. Matthew in England, and the movement under Mr. Henry George in this country.

(2) The influence next in importance in the spread of Socialism is due to the change which has taken place in the methods of production and in the industrial constitution of society. With the progress of invention and the growth of commerce, greater accumulations of capital have become necessary, and a strong tendency has become manifest to the concentration of business and the forces of production in a limited capitalist class, while the large majority of the community are becoming reduced to the position of mere wage-earners dependent on the capitalist class even for the opportunity to labor, and it may be said for the right to live. With every year the gulf between the two classes seems to be widening. The guilds of the Middle Ages had the advantage of bringing master and workman together, as also did the apprentice system, now becoming antiquated and well nigh obsolete.

The introduction of machinery has not had the effect which was apprehended of lessening the demand for human labor, but it has rendered the ***laborer*** himself a less perfect machine, and less competent to care for himself. In the last century a shoemaker was master of his trade, and always assured of a living; but what can a factory hand thrown out of one of the great shoe manufactories of New England in our day do for a living? M. Laveleye says on this point: "By losing their ancient guarantees they (have) become more dependent, and while raised to the rank of sovereign in the political régime, in the economic order they have fallen to the rank of hirelings." (p. 22.) It is well to remark here that these industrial changes are inevitable. We hear many inveighing against them as though they were due to human greed and selfishness, but it is not so. We are drifting through a transition period of human progress. Old things are passing away and a new era is silently dawning. It is

in vain to hope that the sun will go back on the dial of human history. We must adapt ourselves to altered conditions. While the ***laudatores temporis acti*** continue to bewail the past, it is the wise policy for us to turn our eyes steadily toward the future, and endeavor to steer a safe course through the mists that enshroud it. The wage question and the rent question are two of the practical questions arising out of these altered conditions, and now form the subject of general discussion, as also do the uses and responsibilities of capital. In fact, the whole question of the distribution of wealth between the factors of production is more and more engrossing public attention, and has led to a very general study of political economy, which M. Laveleye regards as third influential agent in the spread of Socialism.

(3) The science of political economy, first distinctly formulated by Adam Smith, might seem to be calculated at first sight to check the spread of social dissatisfaction by teaching the operation of natural laws, with which it was vain and futile to interfere. The opposite has been the case. Ricardo and Mill taught the tendency of wages to fall to the minimum on which the laborer could live and propagate, and the tendency of rent to absorb all the profits of production aside from this minimum of wages and a fair rate of interest to the capitalist. "Socialists ask," says Laveleye, "if such a partition of wealth, resulting from the pretended natural laws of society, is conformable to the principles of equitable distribution. It is therefore political economy which has furnished a scientific basis to Socialism, enabling it to leave the region of communistic aspirations and Utopian dreams." (p. 35.)

The truth of this remark is next to be shown as we come, in the second place, to consider the progress of the movement for social reform.

II.

So far I have refrained, gentlemen, from any definition of the question before us, for the reason that so long as Socialism continued to be mainly a matter of feeling, a dream and aspiration, it eluded definition. As it passes into the domain of the intellect and becomes a clearly apprehended perception of the mind, we may hope for a statement which will be substantially accurate. We reach it, as Laveleye declares, by the aid of political economy. The fundamental principle of political economy is ***laissez faire***—let things

alone—leave the organic forces of society to work out their natural results. Laveleye declares that it is the Darwinian principle of the survival of the fittest applied to human affairs. To this he would oppose the position of those who propose to shape the development of society by artificial means, and of those who declare themselves discontented with society as it is at present under the action of these natural laws. To all such he would give the name of Socialists. Thus political economy has made it possible to define the position of Socialism as one of dissatisfaction with the present condition of things. One is the optimistic, the other the pessimistic position. It is obvious that under so broad a term men may be classed together whose views are as widely divergent as the poles. Thus Gladstone is a Socialist when remodeling the land laws of Ireland, and Lord Salisbury no less when adopting measures for housing the poor of London; Bismarck, bringing forward a plan for government insurance of workmen, no less than Karl Marx and the Social Democrats who follow his lead.

It is obvious that the political nomenclature of Liberal and Conservative is as out of place as that of religious division between believer and unbeliever in the consideration of these social questions. "Since the publication of Bastiat's famous pamphlet," says Laveleye, "every free-trader and every rigid economist is firmly convinced that whosoever does not admit the full freedom of commerce is affected with Socialism and Communism." (p. 14.) We might infer that if President Cleveland carries his party for free trade, they might assume for themselves the name of economists, and hurl upon the devoted heads of those who flock about the standard of protection the epithet of *Socialists*. Indeed, the fact may be unknown to many, and matter of surprise, that there is no sterner and more uncompromising opponent of *Socialism*, as he views it, in New York to-day than Mr. Henry George, whom some of you would probably regard as a most advanced leader of it.

When we pass from the consideration of the evils of existing society to a consideration of methods for their redress, it is evident that opinions will be far less agreed; and it is therefore not surprising that Socialism has developed manifold and self-contradictory tendencies, which it would be as vain as it would be impossible for us to discuss. Some general observations may here be in order.

The economist treats society as the naturalist does inanimate nature—as if "whatever is, is right." The Socialist *denies* this, but often finds himself at a loss for a standard of right, and therefore

drifting. Hence the economist may more safely ignore morality than the Socialist. It is to be recollected that as society is but the aggregate of individuals, so every social question presupposes an individual question, by which it is determined. Plato reasoned from the mass to the individual. We in our day reverse the order, and reason from the individual to the mass. If therefore perfect liberty of action to do what he pleased should be allowed the individual, it would be equally just to allow it to society, which is their aggregate, and *whatever is would be right*. But if a distinction is to be drawn in individual action between that which is right and that which is wrong, the same distinction will obtain in reference to society, and the maxim will be false that declares that *whatever is, is right*, and its refutation will involve also the relinquishment of the idea that society is to be allowed uncontrolled liberty of action to pursue the wrong equally with the right—the doctrine of *laissez faire*. As there is a power of choice in the individual, so also must there be in society, and that power must be regulated by some *standard* of *morality*. It is the neglect to ascertain such a standard that has involved Socialism in such contradiction, and added a dismal page to modern history, that reads like that dark period of Israel's history under the Judges, "When there was no king in Israel and every man did that which was *right* in his own eyes."

The author of the article on "Socialism" in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* asserts "that in the midst of various theories that go by the name of Socialism there is a kernel of principle that is common to them all. That principle is of an economic nature, and is most precise and clear. The aim of Socialism is to terminate the division of the workers from the natural sources of subsistence and of culture." He adds: "The Socialists maintain that the present system (in which land and capital are the property of private individuals freely struggling for increase of wealth) leads inevitably to social and economic anarchy; to the degradation of the workingman and his family; to the growth of vice and idleness among the wealthy classes and their dependents; to bad and inartistic workmanship; to adulteration in all its forms: and that it is tending more and more to separate society into two classes—wealthy millionaires confronted by an enormous mass of proletarians—the issue out of which must either be *Socialism* or social ruin. * * * * Socialists propose that land and capital, which are the requisites of labour, and the sources of all wealth and culture, should become the property of society, and be managed for the public good." (Art.

"Socialism," 9th ed. *Encyclo. Brit.* pp. 205-6.) I copy this as a very concise and clear statement of the socialist programme. The writer goes on to state that Socialists are generally agreed on this programme, though in points of detail greatly at variance among themselves. If this be a true statement of the general socialist programme, it must be at once evident that it is one that will exclude many social reformers. Mr. George, for instance, contends strenuously for the rights of private property, and even while desiring the resumption by the state of the fee in land, would guarantee private use and enjoyment of it under lease.

I doubt whether such a programme is entitled to be regarded as in any sense an established tendency toward social reform. It is far too radical. In destroying the right of private property, it would return society to the state of barbarism.

III.

It is now time to briefly state the main drift of social questions during the century. We may at once pass over the early works of St. Simon and Fourier and Prudhon in France, and Robert Owen in England, and the early efforts to found social communities in our own country. A very instructive little volume on this subject has been written by my friend, Prof. R. T. Ely, of Johns Hopkins University, who is a recognized authority on economic and socialistic topics. These efforts were chiefly Utopian in character, and disregarding the structural principles of human society, were necessarily failures. They were not, however, without an educational value, which has left us in their debt, and more recent efforts in the same direction profiting by their mistakes, have attained larger measure of success, as the town of Pullman, near Chicago, and the Phalanstery of M. Godin.

In Germany the movement toward social reform, though of recent origin, has had some names of the first rank—Rodbertus, Lassalle and Marx, following on Fichte and Marlo. Putting aside the Utopian schemes of the early French and English reformers, they have laid the basis of a sounder and more durable work on the ascertained laws of political economy and social development. These they have accepted, seeking only to correct their undesirable effects and to develop society along the lines thus marked out. Living under a paternal government and accustomed to the scrutiny of the state in matters of smallest detail, they have followed the policy of

state intervention to an extent which would be inconsistent with our freer notions of individual liberty. Their writings are, however, of profound philosophic interest, and they have produced a wide practical result in the formation of public opinion and the establishment of the Social Democratic party. An interesting thought to be gathered from the writings of Marx is worth a passing allusion. It is that the slave of antiquity, the serf of the Middle Ages, in gaining his liberty acquired no property, and was therefore obliged to place himself in the service of those who possessed the lands and implements of production, and was more at the mercy of others than before. A parallel is found in the condition of the emancipated slaves at the south after the war, and looking back we may see both the wisdom and the justice of Moses in spoiling the Egyptians when he led forth the Israelites from bondage.

Out of this thought grows Marx's theory of surplus value, which inures to the benefit of the employer. Laveleye declares that the conclusions of Marx are irrefragable if his premises, derived from orthodox economists, are admitted. He argues, however, that, bound as they are to economic and materialistic doctrines, the economists present no ideal to be realized. He contrasts eloquently with their views the doctrines of Christianity, pervaded by an infinite tenderness and a sublime sentiment of justice, and to the spread of these maxims he looks for social regeneration.

The life of Lassalle reads like a romance, and has been compared to that of Abelard. It was as brief as it was brilliant. He has left behind him the reputation of being the greatest orator Germany has produced. Like Marx, he was of Jewish origin, a people who have been propagators of Socialism, a tendency marked in the novels of Lord Beaconsfield. Lassalle originated little, but did a great work in popularizing socialist doctrines, and is credited with having converted the distinguished Catholic leader, Bishop Ketteler, of Maintz, and Prince Bismarck to his views.

Through the influence of these two leaders, one in the Catholic church and the other in the Prussian state, a conservative Socialism has built up. It looks not to the same methods as those sought by the Social Democrats for the regeneration of society, but is, nevertheless, genuinely socialistic in character. Is it not a remarkable movement, and ominous of changes to come, when an influence is abroad that has permeated all classes and won adherents among parties the most diverse? Conservative Socialism looks rather to the past than the future, and hopes for a re-establishment of the old

social order, but as truly as the more radical forms of Social Democracy, it would subordinate the individual to society in the mass. Under Bismarck a step has been taken in this direction in recent legislation, the most notable example being his state insurance laws.

It has been necessary to allude thus particularly to Germany, because there Socialism has shown recently its most rapid strides. France, the earliest nation in this movement, has not of late years been so noteworthy, since the days of Louis Blanc, perhaps because still absorbed in questions mainly political and affecting the existence of the government itself.

Had this paper been written twenty years ago, a larger space doubtless would have seemed due to that movement, which under the name of the International, transcended national boundaries, and threatened every government with overthrow; but its decline has been as rapid as its rise, and it has ceased to exist. It has, however, not been without an educational effect in teaching workmen the way to organize, and the formidable power which by organization they may achieve.

Of the more violent forms which Socialism has taken in Russia, as the Nihilism of Bakunin and Prince Krapotkin, it is not needful to speak. The only lesson of first importance to be gathered from them is, that where the rights of men to discuss grievances and peacefully agitate for their removal are denied and forcibly repressed, wild, irrational, violent and desperate measures are the inevitable result. The attention which has of late been drawn to the state of society, by the work of Wallace and the articles now frequently appearing in periodical literature, will have the beneficial effect of arousing public indignation against the awful tyranny which now exists in that wretched country; and in our day a strong public opinion, even in foreign lands, cannot but have a salutary effect on the Russian government as certainly as that aroused by the exile Mazzini in behalf of Italian unity.

The latest characteristic of socialistic development passes under the name of Collectivism, though an outgrowth of the earlier theories of St. Simon and Louis Blanc. It seeks the collective ownership by society of the land, and according to some writers, of fixed and even circulating capital also. The Belgian Colins, A. R. Wallace, the English naturalist, and the American Henry George may be regarded as samples of this development of Socialism. The great fundamental objection to such schemes would appear to be that they ignore, as

Dr. Schæffle, the eminent Austrian economist, has pointed out, the great psychological truth on which the individualistic system at present rests, namely, that private interest is the great incentive to production. It is only just, however, to observe, that some of the advocates of land nationalization, as for example Mr. George, admit the existence of this principle, and attempt to harmonize their doctrines with it; how successfully it is for others to say.

The relation of the individual to society is the great problem, it appears to me, which is yet undetermined, and on the solution of which all social questions hinge. It may be admitted that in our day individualism has been pushed to its extreme, and a destructive competition has been the result; but to deny individual rights, among which that of private property is only less important than that of personal liberty, would seem to be equally disastrous. The rights of the individual and of society in the mass must be harmonized, and I firmly believe they can be, and as investigation and discussion proceed, are becoming more clearly understood.

One last principle of social reform remains to be considered, namely, co-operation. This is the direction in which English social effort has mainly developed, from Owen and the Christian Socialists downward. It has the advantage of acknowledging individual rights, and so employing them as to secure also the good of the community at large. The difficulty has been to shape it and make it workable on any large scale. It is evident that this can only be successful as it is natural and unforced. I look with interest, therefore, on the gradual consolidation of industries into large aggregations in corporations, and their combination again as "trusts," so-called, as an unconscious movement in this direction, to which the great co-operative principle may be readily in the future applied. It is to be borne in mind that besides this conscious movement toward social reform, there is a yet broader drift in that direction which is unconscious, and perhaps not enough considered by those who make social questions their study.

IV.

This cursory survey of the field of social reform must now be brought to a close. It remains to sum up the general conclusions we have arrived at—what we may regard as the tendencies well established toward social reform. If it is to come at all, it will not be "by Utopian schemes, arbitrary legislation, or mere revolutionary

disturbances," rightly says the author of the encyclopædia article before referred to. Adopting the same author's enumeration of those tendencies we have: (1) The tendencies to economic anarchy in the industrial world; the clashes between capital and labor frequently occurring, and the periods of financial "panic" becoming more and more common. (2) The everywhere manifest tendency toward concentration in industrial and commercial operations, and the great aggregations of capital necessary in consequence, naturally suggesting the question, Who shall control those immense forces, individuals or society? (3) The enlargement of the functions of the state, gradually assuming control of new areas of influence—in the postal communication in our land, the telegraph in England, and on the continent of Europe the railways and expressage to a considerable extent. Here also are to be noted the novel functions of the health bureau and building bureau, and vital statistics and labor bureaus of state and municipal governments. (4) The efforts at co-operation, especially in England—both in production and distribution; the organization of labor in trade unions, and latterly in the Knights of Labor; and the legislation now so common regulating the employment of labor in factories; and intervening more and more in matters formerly regarded as of mere private concern. (5) And lastly that great power of the multitude, which under the name of democracy has been growing since Christianity entered the world, and which having achieved civil liberty, is now, as De Tocqueville foresaw, asserting novel claims in the domain of social order.

I cannot close this paper without suggesting the question of the relation of Christianity to this movement. Christianity has fought for the rights of the individual in the days when those rights were denied. It must ever remain true to that position. It is, however, destined to regenerate society as well. It is a mistake to think it is entirely in agreement with society as existing now, any more than in the days when organized society crucified its Author, or Augustine held up against a decaying civilization the great conception of the City of God. We believe in a millenium before us—a golden age to come, when society shall be what the Christian church teaches it ought to be. Confidently, calmly we wait for it. Eighteen hundred years have passed. It is nearer than it was. Violence we condemn, for it could only retard its progress. Like Count Tolstöi in Russia, the Christian advocates the policy of non-resistance. By suffering, by enduring we overcome. But none the less does the Christian

who repeats with intelligence the opening petitions of the prayer his Lord has taught him, look for the day when His Kingdom shall come, His will be done on *earth* even as it is in heaven.

The kingdom of God on earth—what is it but the millennium? Often I have wondered that those of our brethren who have made the advent of that millennium the aim of their study and the goal of their hopes, seem often to fix their gaze so intently on the prophetic signs of its coming, and not on the indications so numerous in the world about them of its nearer approach. If I may suggest a reason, it would be, that in fastening attention so intently as we are necessarily obliged to do on the conversion of the individual soul, we have become little accustomed to give to our vision a wider sweep and consider society at large, as Plato did, and as many great names of our own communion also have done.

As he turns the kaleidoscope, the observer sees a gradual shifting of the pieces which compose the pattern before his eye, till it becomes confused and indefinite; another turn no greater than those which have preceded it, and the pieces are grouped again in a figure as perfect in harmony and beauty as those which have been shattered. So has it been in the world's history—the patriarchal, the kingly, the republican, have risen, blossomed, decayed and been buried, only to form the foundations for new combinations of human association.

One throne remains unshaken. It is that of Him whose ambassadors we are. The Christian confronts the disasters which overwhelm others, with the calm voice of faith, which stilled the passions of the mob in that dark day that followed President Lincoln's assassination, from the lips of Garfield—"Jehovah reigns, and the government still lives."

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